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EXTENSIVE RADIO COVERAGE OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO THE USSR

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SOVIET RADIO COVERAGE OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO THE USSR**The Overall Propaganda Pattern**

Moscow's propaganda approach to the Vice President's visit and the Sokolniki exhibition mingled guarded approval of the general purposes of such exchanges with sharp censure of specific aspects of the U.S. attitude.

Critical and sometimes carping remarks about the Vice President's statements and about U.S. policies were interjected into propaganda for domestic and foreign audiences alike. Radio Moscow did, however, seem anxious to present a more objective account of Nixon's activities to North American than to other audiences.

Most of Nixon's major activities—though by no means all his statements—were reported in some detail to the Soviet people and to North American listeners. Coverage for other audiences left out no major tours, visits, or receptions, but was less detailed.

The total volume of broadcast publicity for the visit—to domestic and foreign audiences, taken together—about equaled Radio Moscow's attention to Kikinger's and to Kozlov's U.S. visits. Macmillan's trip to the USSR in February had drawn twice as much radio publicity. All three of these prior visits—Kikinger's, Kozlov's, and Macmillan's—got slightly more attention than Nixon's in the Soviet home service. (The publicity for Nixon's visit is compared to publicity for other visits in the table at the conclusion of this report.)

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Moscow's treatment of Nixon differed from its treatment of prior Western visitors in one notable respect--a difference traceable to the Vice President's own frank approach and in keeping with Khrushchev's readiness to engage in open debate. Soviet comment and reportage is normally studiously cordial to visitors, avoiding personal criticisms of the visitor and emphasizing areas of discord between the visitor's country and the USSR. Yet in Nixon's case, only about half of Moscow's radio propaganda could be classified as favorable or neutral toward the Vice President. The other half consisted of rebuttals to his arguments in behalf of U.S. policy and criticisms of certain of his activities. Considerable time was devoted to rebutting statements by Nixon that were not themselves given full publicity.

Major Sources of Criticism

The coincidence of Captive Nations Week with Nixon's visit was clearly the principal point of irritation. The moderate number of full commentaries devoted to the issue were not especially bitter, but the issue was brought up repeatedly in reports of Nixon's activities, in propaganda on the U.S. exhibition, and in speeches by Khrushchev. The general tone was one of annoyance and regret that such a "cold war" development should coincide with efforts to improve relations. Peking and East European radios were more openly bitter than Moscow about this "vicious slander."

The continued presence of U.S. bases abroad was the second most frequently mentioned issue. The test-ban problem, in keeping with Moscow's relative silence on this subject in recent weeks, was less often mentioned. During Nixon's stay both in Moscow and in the provinces, broadcasts repeatedly reported "unheard" questions asked Nixon by Soviet workers on the issues of Captive Nations Week and U.S. military bases.

The Vice President was the target of a more personal attack for his alleged attempt to give "alias" of 100 rubles to a Soviet worker. The worker's letter to TRUD protesting this "rude and unforgivable" act was reported fully to

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home and foreign audiences on 25 July. Nixon's denial of the Soviet version of the incident, in his TV speech to the Soviet people, drew a prompt counterfactual from Radio Moscow's home service, in the form of an interview with the allegedly insulted worker on 2 August.

Detailed rebuttal to Nixon's speech at the U.S. exhibition came in the form of letters to the editor published by PRAVDA and IZVESTIA and broadcast in the home service. Letters from "ordinary workers" took issue primarily with Nixon's claims of U.S. prosperity, arguing that he "simply concealed contradictions in capitalist society." Other letters objected to the statement that "nobody in the world" knows better than President Eisenhower what war is. Additional letters to nearly all the Soviet central newspapers from visitors to the U.S. exhibition rebutted claims about U.S. prosperity, although without specific reference to Nixon.

Prompt home service reaction to Nixon's TV speech rebutted his arguments on the issue of U.S. military bases abroad as well as his denial that he had offered "aid" to the market worker. Initial press comment (in IZVESTIA on 4 August) concentrated on the issue of military bases, professing disappointment that Nixon did not discuss their abolition but tried to justify their existence.

Foreign-language comment--principally a talk by Viktorov broadcast widely on 2 and 3 August--acknowledged that the TV speech contained "many good words and interesting ideas." But the commentator went on to criticize in standard terminology Nixon's defense of U.S. bases, his failure to explain the proclamation of Captive Nations Week, and his alleged effort to "distort" the history of Soviet foreign policy.

Summary of Nixon's Statements

Nixon provided publicity for Nixon's statements and speeches as follows:

(1) Speech on arrival, 21 August: Broadcast in the home service in full Russian translation, along with Khrushchev's speech, on the evening of Nixon's arrival; text published in PRAVDA and IZVESTIA.

(2) Debate with Khrushchev at exhibition: PRAVDA's account of Nixon's public discussion with Khrushchev prior to the formal opening of the U.S. exhibition was broadcast virtually in the home service and in excerpted or summarized form to nearly all Moscow's foreign audiences; no foreign-language version included anything not in the home service version. PRAVDA's account gave Khrushchev all the best of the debate: 62 sentences were devoted to Khrushchev's remarks, 11 to Nixon's; the Vice President's debating points were totally suppressed; and Nixon was reported variously as "in a hurried retreat," finding a topic "obviously not to [his] taste," and so forth. No fuller account of the debate has been broadcast by Radio Moscow, although TASS reports that the video tape was carried by Moscow TV on 27 and 28 July.

(3) Speech at exhibition opening: The home service broadcast "live" the ceremony of the exhibition opening, including Nixon's speech in English, but no Russian translation was provided. On the morning of 25 July, the home service rebroadcast the text of Khrushchev's speech but not Nixon's. The text of Nixon's speech was, however, published in PRAVDA and IZVESTIA.

The text or near-text of Khrushchev's speech was broadcast to Moscow's principal foreign audiences, along with brief summaries of Nixon's address; 14 minutes devoted to Khrushchev's speech, three minutes to Nixon's, was the

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noon. The broadcast summaries of Nixon's speech, as well as the TASS summary presumably published in the bulk of the Soviet press, omitted those sections praising the U.S. way of life and implying criticism of certain U.S. policies.

(4) Conversations with Khrushchev: Reportage frequently cited queries by authors, especially in regard to Captive Nations Week, the importance of "confirming powerful words by deeds," U.S. military bases, U.S. restrictions on trade, a nuclear test ban, and the rearming of West Germany. Nixon was usually reported only to have "listened attentively." Almost none of his rejoinders were publicized in the home service, and only a few were acknowledged in broadcasts to North America. The home audience was told that he responded on one occasion, "I shall answer at the appropriate time in my speeches," but was not told of his specific references to his forthcoming TV speech.

(5) TV speech of 1 August: The speech was broadcast to the Soviet audience only over the home service's "third program," which has a relatively limited broadcast range and is normally used for music. The broadcast, simultaneous with the telecast, provided full Russian translation. Thorough checking by monitors indicates that the speech was not relayed or retransmitted by any other domestic station, Moscow or regional. It was published in full by IZVESTIA, but PRAVDA carried only a brief summary. The main home service program carried a brief news account of the speech, but not until noon of 2 August.

The size of the home audience was further held to a minimum by the paucity and partially erroneous nature of advance publicity. The only advance home service announcement, one hour prior to the speech, said it would be carried by Nixon's TV network and the home service's "second program"; at the scheduled time, the second program broadcast only music, without explanation.

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At least three of Radio Moscow's shortwave channels--usually used for foreign-language broadcasts abroad--did carry the speech, "live" and in full Russian translation. A recording of the speech was broadcast in English to North America, and other foreign audiences heard brief one- or two-minute accounts of the speech on the evening of 1 August.

(6) Press conference: Nixon's final press conference, on 2 August, was reported only in summary form, in a 150-word TASS dispatch that was reduced by half in home service and foreign-language broadcasts. Nixon's remarks on a possible U.S. invitation to Khrushchev and his praise for the extent of Soviet coverage of his visit were the only fully publicized sections of the press conference.

(7) Briefing speech at airport: TASS and the home service carried the text of Brezhnev's speech, but only a brief summary of Nixon's. Radio Moscow's fullest version of Nixon's speech, in English to North America, omitted several passages.

Increased Effort to Denigrate U.S. Way of Life

As an additional counteraction to the impact of Nixon's tour and the U.S. exhibition on the minds of Soviet citizens, the home service stepped up the volume of its routine comment on the hardships and evils of the U.S. way of life. The number of commentaries on U.S. unemployment, strikes, racism, cultural poverty, and so forth averaged six for each of the past three weeks (13 July - 2 August), compared with a weekly average of three for the preceding six weeks. A sampling of home service broadcasts indicated an even more marked increase in items dealing with these topics during the same two periods, in a ratio of six to one.

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Nixon's Visit to Poland

Up to 5 August, Moscow provided only minimal publicity for Nixon's trip to Warsaw; home and foreign-language newscasts briefly reported his activities, without comment. The Polish home service provided fairly extensive publicity, including the text of Nixon's arrival speech. The enthusiasm of his popular welcome was, however, played down in the brief notation that the Vice President received "a cordial welcome" from the people of Warsaw. Polish press comment stressed that the socialist system is essential to Poland's continued prosperity and peace, and referred pointedly to Poland's "just" frontiers on the West.

Peking and East European Coverage

Peking broadcast no original comment on Nixon's visit. In a few cases its harshly worded attacks on the proclamation of Captive Nations Week included brief reference to the "strange coincidence" of the visit with the issuance of the proclamation. New China News Agency transmissions released PRAVDA's account of Nixon's debate with Khrushchev at the exhibition and other similar reports from PRAVDA or TASS. But Radio Peking's broadcasts to home and foreign audiences carried no more than a few brief news reports on the visit.

Fairly extensive East European comment welcomed the visit as a further development of U.S.-Soviet contacts. In nearly all cases this "positive aspect" was set against the President's proclamation of Captive Nations Week, more bitterly assailed by the satellite radios than by Moscow itself. Nixon's public speeches were briefly summarized in newscasts.

**RADIO MOSCOW PUBLICITY FOR NIXON'S VISIT
COMPARED TO PUBLICITY FOR VISITS BY OTHER LEADERS**

The table below shows—in descending order of volume—Moscow total radio comment on all visits to the USSR by non-Block leaders since Stalin's death that have occasioned 200 or more commentary items. Commentary items consist of press and radio articles, lengthy reportage, and broadcasts of speeches and communications; brief news items are excluded. For further comparison, the visits by Khrushchev and Mikoyan to the United States are listed at the end of the table.

Visitor	Dates of Visit	No. of Days	Number of Commentaries	
			to all audiences, Soviet and foreign	to the Soviet press audience
Tito	2-23 June 1956	22	1,045	125
Adenauer	8-14 Sept. 1955	7	607	70
Macmillan	21 Feb.-3 March 1959	11	479	25
Sukarno	28 Aug.-13 Sept. 1956	17	456	45
Nehru	7-23 June 1955	17	424	60
Nasir	29 Apr.-10 May 1956	11	410	40
Pensikivi	15-20 Sept. 1955	6	407	35
Mollet and Pineau	15-20 May 1956 15-23 May 1956	6 41	343	60
Selaassie	29 June-13 July 1959	15	336	15
U Nu	20 Oct.-4 Nov. 1955	16	290	20
Nixon	21 July-2 Aug. 1971	11	261*	12
Kekkonen	22-31 May 1955	10	223	20
Hatoyama	12-20 Oct. 1956	9	200	20

Mikoyan to U.S.	4-20 Jan. 1959	17	243	20
Khrushchev to U.S.	29 June-13 July 1959	15	240	15

* Through 2 August.